

to France in Morocco in the treaty of 1904, Lansdowne's invitation to continuous discussion of contingencies in 1905, the authorization of non-binding discussions between naval and military experts in 1906, Hardinge's conversations with Iswolsky at Reval in 1908, Mr. Lloyd George's Mansion House speech in 1911, the Mediterranean Agreement and the Grey-Cambon letters in 1912, the naval discussions with Russia in the summer of 1914—here were milestones along the road to full co-operation with France and Russia in the event of war. When the hour of decision arrived, Grey had no more doubt where our honour and interests lay than his official advisers, Ni cols on and Crowe, though for constitutional reasons his pace was not as quick as they desired. There is no more arresting document in our eleventh volume than Eyre Crowe's memorandum to his chief on July 31.

^{cc} The argument that there is no written bond binding us to France is correct. There is no contractual obligation. But the entente has been made, strengthened, put to the test and celebrated in a manner justifying the belief that a moral bond 'was being forged. The whole policy of the entente can have no meaning if it does not signify that in a just quarrel England would stand by her friends."

The incisive words of the Civil Servant embodied the thoughts of the Foreign Secretary throughout his anxious years at the helm. His task was to work a system constructed before he was called to the helm. There is no reason to suppose that Lansdowne, its author, would have acted differently in any of the major emergencies of the time, and their joint achievements must be envisaged as an indivisible whole. Criticism both of their policy of Continental commitments and of their handling of particular issues, such as the Agadir

crisis and the situation after Serajevo, is bound to continue; but since the publication of the *British Documents* there is no longer the slightest doubt what our policy was. The whole story is unified and dominated by our reconciliation with France—not a union of hearts but a *manage de raison**

How shall we define British aims after the turning-point of 1904? I answer, to stand by France, first in regard to Morocco as by treaty bound, and later over the whole field of international politics so long as she was unaggressive; to terminate the hostility of Russia which dated from the Crimean War and which seemed to threaten our Indian frontier ; to strive for a naval agreement and neighbourly rela-